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"Rugged Individualism" and Individual Liberty

There is a suspicion abroad that Anarchism, on account of the pre-eminent place it gives to the vindication of individual liberty, may have something in common with bourgeois liberalism and with what Mr. Herbert Hoover called "rugged individualism."

Such suspicion is often fostered by malice and largely accepted through ignorance. Both historically and philosophically it is utterly unfounded.

It is preposterous to imagine Mr. Hoover's "rugged individualism" as libertarian or even liberal. It is sheer Nietzschean egotism of the mighty, of the powerful exploiting and oppressing the weak, in order to promote his own interests. It is the unscrupulous sway of riches unchecked by law or morals. Nothing individualistic about it either. Personality is absolutely submerged by property. Power and authority are the inherent attributes of wealth—that is Things—and not of individuals—that is Men. According to this dispensation—which underlays all present-day capitalistic dictatorships—a few moguls impose their will on mankind, not because they are exceptionally gifted in wisdom, but because they are exceptionally provided with money.

As for bourgeois Liberalism, it has from its inception simply paved the way for this evolution of capitalism.

Individual liberty has never been an aim for the propertied class. So long as this class was subjected to the stern rule of kings by divine right, of military, religious, blue-blood aristocracies, it strove for freedom . . . to trade, to exploit, to develop, to control unhindered its material interests. Property and trade freedom—that is what it longed for. Not individual freedom.

The vindication of individual liberty appeared then as a means to set in motion the great revolution which eventually crushed the feudal form of society. With this aim in view, the owning classes of the time allowed to spring, from the edges of the bourgeoisie, a numerous set of more or less despised radicals orating, from club and pamphlet, about liberty, equality and brotherhood. No profound social upheaval is possible without such accompaniment of idealistic vindications. They cannot be repressed without running the risk of killing the revolution itself. The wealthy burghers of the eighteenth century could not have suppressed it, had they wanted to. As a matter of fact they profited from it in so far as it helped to arouse the lower strata of society against the old order. But no sooner had the divine right of kings and aristocrats passed into oblivion, no sooner had they placed themselves firmly on the saddle of power, than these propertied classes raised the banner of "law and order" against such radicals raving about liberty, "licentiousness" and "anarchy," and fought sternly against them, until they suppressed them by brutal violence.

Not for the triumph of individual liberty had the bourgeoisie rebelled against king and aristocracy, but for the triumph of the divine right of private property to rule, unhindered and uncontrolled either by blue-blooded idlers or by the propertyless "rabble" who had helped to unseat them.

The history of American Capitalism is very instructive on this subject. It is true that the national revolution was brought about by the flaming spirit which inspired the high-sounding proclamations of 1776. But he would be a superficial observer of historical facts who would consider the American Republic as based on that spirit. The "spirit of 1776" has always been deeply distrusted by the rich patriots of the Colonies, and it was firmly suppressed as soon as political independence from England had been assured. Witness the bloody extermination of Daniel Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts.

The American Republic was built upon the sanctity of private property by the makers of the Constitution of 1787, who were not libertarian idealists, who were not even bourgeois idealists, but practical and calculating property owners, guided by sheer mercantile interests, and almost secretly assembled in Philadelphia to regulate the "public weal" in such secrecy and independence from public control, as if it were their own private business—which it was in all truth, and they made no mystery of it.

The Constitution they gave the Republic did not even so much as mention the "Declaration of Independence"—which they deemed to be too radical, and subversive and dangerous. The celebrated "Constitutional Liberties" guaranteeing freedom of thought, press assembly and petition—the Civil Liberties of the American People—were not mentioned by them. They were added to the Constitution later, as an afterthought, in 1791, under pressure of the "radical" rabble. They—the wealthy framers of the Constitution—had been too busy organizing the institutions of government in such a way as to permanently insure all powers to their class, to think of liberty.

It is an utterly mistaken notion which identifies the bourgeois theorists as the teachers of individual liberty. At most they have proclaimed the liberty of private property to dictate the conditions of economical—and therefore political—state of society. But as a class, the bourgeoisie—the capitalist and their dependent middle class—has only exploited the popular thirst for liberty as long as it was profitable, in order to wrest political power from the old ruling castes. Since this task was achieved, it has constantly applied itself to rear legal fences around individual liberties and to suppress them.

That liberty meant nothing to them but untrammelled privilege of the wealthy to rule is further proved by the fact that not a few of the "founders" of the American Republic were slave owners, or masters of indentured serfs, and that none of them ever thought of giving full right of citizenship to the unpropertied "mechanics and laborers" of their times.

Let us not be deceived by false notions or by our ignorance. All succeeding generations of American capitalists and faithful rulers have done their full share to make the government a perfect tool of capitalism. But in so doing they have not betrayed the spirit in which it was founded. Absolutely not. It was meant from the very beginning as such a tool and nothing else. Modern reactionaries are perfectly right when they consider Andrew Mellon as the "greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton": they are both the best incarnation of property greed their respective ages could produce, and both fitted perfectly in their place.

Our whole political system is a grinding machine of personal freedom—not because corrupt politicians have made it so, but because the whole philosophy of government by the wealthy requires that it be so. Slavery and serfdom have disappeared—from the statute-books, at least; universal suffrage has long since been adopted. But the governmental structure has evolved into an extremely efficient and concentrated machine of oppression which leaves absolutely no room for individual liberty. As it was intended by its supposedly liberal makers and perfectors, it is an instrument of exploitation and power for the moneyed few who have in the course of one hundred and fifty years appropriated all the resources of the country and subjugated all its inhabitants.

The organic aversion of capitalism for individual liberty has been pushed so far that in many instances the bourgeois class has consented to have even its own freedom curtailed in order that the rule of capitalism be made more absolute. In some of the States no man or woman is recognized, all the rights of citizenship unless he or she believes in the existence of god. Nowhere is the American citizen at liberty to think with his or her own brains and express such thoughts unless he conforms to the dominant opinion—i. e., to the opinion of the rulers. One man, placed by the moneyed interests in charge of the Post Office Department of the federal government, has power to suppress any printed matter, at any time, for any reason. Liberty is so alien to capitalistic society that a man of Einstein's standing in the world of science—a citizen of cosmos—cannot be admitted to these shores unless he submits to a humiliating inquisition by an obtuse officer of the U. S. State Department, concerning his opinions on social, political or philosophical matters.

There is no barrier, no limit in substance or space to the

power of government to regulate, prevent or punish the individual for his actions or inactions. Thousands of laws and decrees are made every year to confront every conceivable individual and occasion. The moment a human being is born, his name is entered into the government's files, and he is forced to abide by the government's rules until he dies. Government has decided how he or she is to be reared; at what age he or she is supposed to learn spelling, arithmetic, geography; what he is supposed to learn—according to his station in society—and how, and when and where. He cannot love without telling the government about it, and receiving its consent. He cannot have children without subjecting them to the government's will. He cannot travel without previous permission from the government. He cannot dispose of his physical or intellectual life because the government has inflexible rules which establish the place he is to have in society, and because an act of government can send him to his death any day, for any reason, in any place under the sky. He has never been consulted and never will be, about his willingness to belong to a society which vests its government with so many powers over him (or her): the mere accident of one's birth within certain geographical boundaries makes one automatically a lifelong member of it. He (or she) has never been and never will be consulted about the workings of such society. Nevertheless he (or she) is supposed to submit to them whether they are, or are not, to his (or her) liking. And the less said about it all, the best for all concerned, especially for those numberless multitudes who have been placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Of course there are different degrees of submission. Every authoritarian society is a pyramidal hierarchy. At the bottom of the pyramid are the voiceless and powerless masses whose social function is to work for a bare living, to be exploited in peace, murdered in war. Then there are different strata of progressively more privileged and less exploited minorities whose relative freedom is not measured by any personal qualities, but by the amount of wealth they either possess or serve. And finally, at the top of the pyramid, a little handful of all-powerful moguls who alone might be called free were they not the slaves of their system, living in constant fear of losing that power which they got by fraud and violence.

There is no individualism in such a social organization, as there is no freedom. It is founded on the slavery of the greatest majority of the people; and such minorities as escape from this total slavery are on their turn bound to submit to the iron rule of the system lest it crumble—and they fall with it.

Whatever talk about individual liberties is done by the supporters of the capitalistic system is absolutely alien to the workings of the system itself and is to be considered as a platonic survival of an ancient tradition which was thoroughly repressed by incipient capitalism before it started on its triumphant career of development and conquest.

Only prejudice or malice or ignorance can suppose the existence of any relationship between Anarchist vindication of liberty for all and capitalist denial of every scintilla of individual liberty to each.

Capitalist moguls and governments know this so well that they persecute Anarchism more ferociously than any other social movement in existence.

Melchior Seele

Why Does the Bolshevik Government Persecute Alfonso Petrini?

Alfonso Petrini, an Italian Anarchist sentenced to 22 years imprisonment by the fascist regime of Italy, succeeded to make his escape from the claws of Mussolini's blood-hounds. A hidden thought and hope betook Petrini: perhaps he might find shelter in the country which proclaims to the world its faithfulness to the interests of the proletariat? And hither he went.

Little did Petrini know or dream as to what was in store for him. To the Bolshevik rulers over the people in Russia he was an Anarchist. The Bolsheviks knew very well that Anarchists see no need for rulers and Governments, not even "revolutionary" ones. So they set out to prove to the world that ever since they came to power they treat Anarchists as all Governments do. Petrini was arrested, and without even the semblance of a trial, spirited away to some unknown prison. For three years he was held incommunicado to the extent that not even his friends and family knew what became of him. Leave it to the "revolutionary" rulers! They know how to do such things.

After being kept in prison for four years and eight months, Petrini still remained adamant. He would not renounce his Anarchist ideas. So the "revolutionary" rulers decreed

further punishment. And just because he contracted tuberculosis in their jails, they chose to exile him to Astrakan—one of the most dangerous cold climates for tubercular people! Call it fiendish revenge! But it remains a fact nevertheless.

The doctors told him his only chance to live is in a warmer climate. But the Bolshevik rulers have been keeping him there already for two years, and refuse to let him go abroad.

Thus is demonstrated once again the Anarchist contention that wherever a clique of politicians get at the helm of government—be their cloak yellow, black or purple, there is going to be oppression and persecution. For rulership cannot breed anything else. The so-called "revolutionary" Bolshevik government is proving to be no exception. Just as under Czarism—sincere, real revolutionists of every shade are being hounded, jailed and exiled without trial in the supposedly "fatherland of the workers!"

Petrini is not accused nor is he guilty of any crime—unless it be his refusal to become a renegade. All he demands is to be given the opportunity to leave the "land of the workers".

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HABIT in SOCIAL CONDUCT

Eli Boche

It is not generally realized how important a part is played in our lives by Habit. Most people think of Habit as affecting principally our physical actions such as eating, rising or retiring at certain fixed hours, etc. The fact is, however, that the working of Habit in our mental lives is of even greater—of more fundamental—importance, for our mental habits largely govern our physical habits. Our habits or that determine, to a large extent, not only our physical actions but also our dispositions (to react in certain ways) or "natures."

So strong are the effects of habit that "second nature," as Habit is often called, is too frequently mistaken for "first" nature, or instinct. Thus, in discussions of man's social actions, the majority of persons say that anti-social activities are the result of "human nature" and that they can't be changed. Obviously they think of human nature as composed of pure instincts whereas it really consists of instinctive motives modified by learning into the form of habit. For example, the greedy amassing of wealth is largely a social habit inculcated by the environment. It is a mental habit made necessary by a society of ruthless exploitation and competition and it is based upon the instinctive will to live. Similarly most of our social attitudes are the result of habits of thought, or mental attitudes, made necessary by the environment and nurtured by it.

"How, then," it will be asked, "can we change our environment if the latter determines our mental habits which so greatly influence our thoughts? Obviously, since the environment thus determines our thoughts, the latter cannot determine the environment." The answer to this argument is that the expression "our environment" refers to the general social and physical environment whereas the environment which affects the individual's thoughts is not exactly the same for any two individuals. Note also that environment does not necessarily directly determine thought but may only determine thought habits. We can modify our habits and even change them altogether, dropping some old ones and forming new ones. This comes about through changes in the personal environment of the individual. But the habit-changes occur more with some of us than with others, thus indicating the influence of either chance or heredity, or both.

Let us take a simple case of a break from habit and try to see how it comes about. Suppose a certain individual has a set of fixed habits which are largely determined by his working hours. Now suppose the working hours should be changed; the individual would then be forced to make some changes in his personal habits. The extent and the nature of these changes will, of course, be influenced by other factors, such as the intensity of desire for certain things and other personal idiosyncracies. But the important point is that a change in the environment, over which the individual had no control, caused a break from established personal habits.

Now let us proceed to a more complex change in habits affecting social conduct. A man has been reared in an atmosphere of authority and obedience; he has learned from early childhood to respect authority and to obey first his parents, then his school teachers, the church, and the government. He has been taught that obedience and authority are right and good. Thus he has formed a habit of thought which affects almost all of his social activities and is a most important factor in his life. Now suppose that this man should one day read a book which refutes the principle of authority, or perhaps he may talk with an Anarchist who will, of course, denounce the idea of authority—at any rate, this man who has the mental habit of respect for, and obedience to, authority, encounters an antithetical idea. He will be affected by it to a degree depending upon several other factors involving the nature and strength of the new stimulus and his own receptivity, tolerance, etc. Let us suppose that our subject is of a thoughtful, tolerant nature and that he reads refutations of authority by several writers and thinkers of renown. He will probably follow up the new idea and ultimately renounce his former ideas of authority. He will thereby have broken away from a mental habit of long standing.

It is true that such cases are comparatively rare, and one reason (in addition to the control and selection of mental stimuli by the rulers of the existing social order) for their paucity leads us to another characteristic which may be as much instinctive as habitual. I refer to the universal characteristic of holding on to one's idea and defending it to the bitter end. We find that even in the field of science, which is supposed to be the epitome of selflessness, there are many men who persist in combating new ideas and adhering to the old as long as possible. It appears to me that this is an expression of the instinctive egoism which rules our lives and without which we could not exist. It is the struggle for existence seen from a slightly different angle. Just as one instinctively defends one's self in the physical sense, just so does one defend the self in the ethical sense. A criticism of a person's ideas is usually regarded in the same light as an actual physical attack; any discredit cast upon the ideas he cherishes (whether borrowed or "original") is looked upon as a discredit to himself. Consequently he will pugnaciously defend his ideas until long after calm reason should have told him to renounce them. This identification of the idea with the ego is akin to the idea of some savages that a man's name is a part of himself and its possession by an enemy is sufficient to enable the enemy to do him harm. It is a confusion of the attributes of a thing with the thing itself. So long as a man regards an idea as a part of himself, so long will he instinctively defend the idea even as he would defend his person.

So much for the role of instinct in the characteristic of tenacity to ideas, and now for the part played by habit. In the first place, the effects of the seemingly instinctive defence of ideas discussed above, may be minimized by forming the habit of disinterested and impersonal investigation. This is the attitude which the scientist strives to attain; he seeks to examine every bit of evidence, every theory or hypothesis,

with complete lack of personal desire as to the results or conclusions; his only desire must be to seek and find out the truth. This is the truly scientific attitude and spirit. Similarly in every field of thought we may educate and train ourselves to be always ready and willing to change our ideas if they are challenged by sound reason, and to keep the door always open to reason. This is the mark of the thoughtful and tolerant person.

The second way in which habit affects the clinging-to-old-ideas characteristic is thru the habit of yielding to inertia—the habit of laziness, to be brutally frank. Everyone has observed that conscious effort, concentration, and will-power are required to break an old habit or to purposely form a new one. It is so easy to just drift along in the old way, while to change involves effort, disturbance, discomfort. The habit of "let-it-go" is too frequently victor over the habit of "I'll-do-it." Hence most people fail to cultivate the scientific habit of thought and continue in the habits of easy acceptance of common ideas and of dogged tenacity to those ideas.

I believe enough has been said to indicate the importance of

habit in shaping individual and social character. The forming of desirable habits should be the most important function of education, for thereupon rest the individual's health and happiness and his fitness for social life. Since man is a social animal, it is to the best interests of society and of the individual that only those habits be formed which are socially, as well as individually, useful and desirable. We have seen that habit even determines the mode of expression of instinctive motives; hence socially undesirable instincts—if there are any such—may be minimized by socially desirable habits.

The important point to realize is that most anti-social activities are not the results of inherent anti-social instincts (for, after all, since man is living in groups, his tendencies must be social) but that they are the results of habits formed and forced by the social environment. Obviously, if that social environment is to be changed it is necessary to educate people to the scientific habit of thought in order that they may more easily perceive the logic of the new social theory based upon freedom, and renounce the prejudices and superstitions that are bound up with the present obsolescent social order.

A Letter from Austria

Social-Democracy is absolutely smashed, and it will remain forever thus, because it is Marxism which has received its death-blow. The futility of parliamentarism, with which the workers were overfed by that party; the sham of democracy, being always only a gift and grace of mercy, rendered condescendingly by the state, and revoked by whenever it so pleases; the utter incapacity of the workers to struggle in an economical-revolutionary way, having been befuddled in their senses either as voting-cattle or as soldier-donkeys—all this has shown itself so glaringly during the days of the 12th till the 16th of February, 1934, in Austria that it is not too much to say if I claim that the inner weakness of the Social-Democracy of Austria, all its wrong theories and the falsity of tactics, was so terribly revealed during the insurrection, that in reality it is the real cause of the annihilating defeat the party has sustained.

Since nearly fifty years the Austro-Marxian school of Social-Democracy has decried and filled whole volumes of declamations against the old ideas and acts of violence which anarchists were perpetrating against the powers that be, and always these wise theoreticians wanted to prove that only by legal means, by the suffrage and vote, through democracy, they must and will gain their ends. And they maintained that their overwhelming "successes" at the ballot-box made, as Dr. Bauer expressed it, Austria "an island of liberty."

By these tactics and methods the Socialist leaders thought they would succeed in their device and hope that Fascism would not disturb them in their political jobs and sinecures. As long as Fascism needed them in order to subdue the workers, when vestige upon vestige of popular rights and liberties, the right of association, meeting, freedom of press and word, were simply taken from them, Fascism really did not attack the positions of the Marxian leaders. But at last they had come to that point of dictatorial submission of the workers, aided, and abetted therein by the socialist politicians, where the Fascists did no longer need the socialist leaders, and wanted to have their political jobs for their own fascist dignitaries. And it was at this juncture when the most legalistic, absolutely anti-revolutionary leadership of Austrian Social Democracy, suddenly turned to violence, called the workers to arms and stood on the threshold of proclaiming Civil War.

In this the Government was ahead of them. Some militaristic leaders of the Socialist Republican Protective Army had been arrested at the beginning of February during a search for concealed weapons. These people betrayed the plot of the insurrection, planned by the party and its secretly armed force. Besides this it is certain that the government already knew from its own spy-department what was going on, and it led the Social Democratic party into a trap. It forced the party to start the fight prematurely and was, of course, prepared to meet the military violence of the workers by its own governmental forces.

The very same leaders who had always declaimed against any terroristic activity on the part of the anarchists, now had brought the workers upon a battle-field where they, the workers, could only combat other workers, being fanatically imbued with other erroneous notions than the former ones. The so-called Home-Guard of the governmental forces which was placed against the workers consisted of unemployed and starved masses who have once belonged to the Social Democratic party, but became disappointed with it, falling an easy victim to the luring doles of a few leading politicians of Fascism. These had an easy game, as the workers had not been enlightened by the Socialist leaders enough to have any clear conscience of aims. It was a very peculiar sight for the theoreticians of Marxian "class-consciousness" and of the "class-struggle" to see against them not only the police and Gendarmerie—a few years ago, and partly still, well organized in the socialist trade unions, the writer of these lines was combatted, because he protested against it.

What ensued is unspeakably awful. The Social Democratic workers were deserted by all their leaders who at the same time lured them into the foolish belief that they were sure to become the victors, they had inculcated into the minds of their unfortunate followers that their militaristic armament was excellent and able to beat easily the governmental forces. Too late the workers saw that they were lured by a vicious centralism into an abyss, and that they did not even know the real issue of the fight. So much was this case that all who came before the Court-martial-justice were unable to state the cause for which they had been called to arms by the leaders, and declared themselves having been abused by

these. This awful plight did not help many of them who were sentenced (in eight cases) to the gallows and to very heavy sentences till 20 years of which there are still quite a number forthcoming.

And lo and behold—for none of them did the workers as a mass intervene in the least. It was a vengeance against the Socialist leaders not to have instructed the workers for a half century in anything else than electioneering politics for the benefit of their political job seeking leaders.

As to the method of violence in which these leaders had instructed those whom they enrolled in the Republican Protective Covenant it was of a militaristic Calibre, absolutely sure to fail in every revolutionary struggle, where a government has still an army of its own. Instead of educating the worker to be an outright Antimilitarist, intellectually as well as industrially, these leaders drilled the workers in a most shameful way as soldiers, forgetting that "the other side" can do this much better and more effectively. Thus it came to pass that the defeat of the Austrian socialist workers is mainly due to their incapacity of organizing an effective General Strike (it failed miserably) and their utter ignorance as to the social and economical might of the workers, being invincible if workers are instructed in it and which was not the case on the part of the Socialist workers.

What a horrible satire! For the defense of that very same Republic the Socialist party called the workers to arms which has now assassinated these defenders of the republic. Thus can workers be abused who allow themselves to be led by politicians, who are always docile pillars of the state under any name, as long as it is feeding them.

How any Marxian workers—movement is built absolutely upon sand, any that rests upon parliamentarism, can be gathered out of the fact that Social-Democracy in Austria, which considered itself invincible has been very easily overpowered, and it is not being missed now by anybody. And why? Because as long as it was weak that party had wasted the vitality of economic possibilities of workers in useless voting-campaigns. And as soon as it became powerful, it was recognised by the broad masses of its own adherents as a freak and fraud because of its so-called "reforms" it could only offer at the cost of heavy taxation (which the capitalist is always shoving upon the workers, directly or indirectly) that unemployment increased fearfully amongst the workers whose condition deteriorated from year to year. It became a slogan amongst the workers and the population in general that the Social Democratic Policy consists therein, first to make the worker a pauper, in order to give him a "dole"—support . . . From every semblance of a proposal and attempt of the Abolition of poverty this Social Democratic Marxian Party shrunk back and combatted it not less fiercely than the regular supporters of capitalism and governmentalism who, of course, live by the misery of the robbed masses.

Thus is explained why many thousands belonged only by sheer force or dependence to this powerful party. And how little it offered to the workers is irrefutably proven when one sees now that the government does not in any way better, but also not in the least deteriorate, the conditions of the masses and workers particularly. In fact, one can only say and see now this—the job which held down the workers until now, and which were enjoyed by Socialist politicians, are now enjoyed by Catholics and Fascists, but otherwise hardly any change is visible.

An epoch it at an end. May the workers learn everywhere the historic lesson, what Bakunin has foretold and warned that it will come, this that has come to pass, thanks to the "success" of Marxism during the last 60 years—not the realisation of Liberty and Socialism, but the defeat of the working people and their real cause. May the workers heed the lesson—not the conquest of government and its methods can be the aim, but the abolition of all the forces of violence by mass—economical action, by Revolution.

The letter from a well-known comrade (who, whilst being away from Austria when the Dollfuss attack took place, rushed immediately back to take his place, happen what may.) clarifies the background for the entire collapse of the Social Democracy in Austria. It not only substantiates what MAN! had said in the previous issue, but makes even a more sketching indictment against the policies pursued by the leaders of the Socialist movement. That this indictment is fully justified can be seen from the following excerpts of a

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BACK of the brave STRUGGLE by the WORKERS in CUBA

A Letter from Cuba

More than three years ago, Gerardo Machado Morales, became president of Cuba. He achieved this office with the common consent of the American bankers and landholders, the Creolo politics of such bandits as Viriato Gutierrez, Vasquez Bello, and other similar characters, and in complete opposition to what the wretched economic reality required. Back of the entire scheme was the "Chadbourne Plan," or "Chadbourne-Gutierrez."

The industrialists and journalists, save for a few notable exceptions, applauded the Plan. So did also the obedient slaves of the Congress, obeying the ukase of the animal, Machado. Rapidly, in but a few hours, the farcical comedy was enacted by all the puppets of the regime, accepting the Plan. And it was for this purpose that the Sugar Corporation was created. It was to manage all the finances and the whole system of exploitation, plus the regime of Machado. One of the first acts of this Corporation was to pay to Cuban and American lawyers \$125,000. Thus Mr. Chadbourne imposed his Plan upon the people of Cuba. Mr. Chadbourne's Plan was aimed to safeguard the interest of the American Bankers and the sugar interests of the North. Machado, Viriato, and the others were simply the Forceful weapon, via the government, to aid in this Robbery scheme upon the people.

It is a well known fact that the banks of Cuba pledged the sugar production, or rather what is the same, facilitated quantities of money for realizing the grinding. Only it so happened that in the year 1930 there remained 10 million tons of sugar in the world that could not be sold. In addition the price was much lower. The 1,500,000 tons of sugar pledged by the banks to be sold couldn't be disposed of. The "Chadbourne Plan" was intended to take care of this, with the aid of the State. In fact, the State took over the entire carrying out of the Plan—valued at that time at \$42,000,000. But the Cuban State was unable to realize any money, and floated a loan through bonds up to the value of \$42,000,000 at 5% annual interest. Thus was completed the scheme to bleed the people of Cuba.

In order to gain a better understanding of the magnitude of the "Chadbourne Plan," it is in place to bring forward some actual figures, as follows:

Sugar Production	Tons of Sugar (retained)	Import of charges of warehouse rent, and depreciation
1930-31 year	1,500,000 tons	\$8,070,000
1931-32 year	1,200,000 tons	6,456,000
1932-33 year	900,000 tons	4,842,000
1933-34 year	600,000 tons	3,228,000
1934-35 year	300,000 tons	1,614,000

Total import in the 55 years \$24,210,000

The interest of bonds issued for the 42 millions of dollars to the 5% produces annually \$2,300,000. In five years it will produce \$11,500,000. We have that, in fifty years, the Chadbourne Plan would create a debt to Cuba, as follows:

For charges of warehouse rent, depreciation, etc.	\$24,210,000
For emission of bonds interest	11,550,000
Amount given to the commission that manage Plan	666,000
For sugar allowance that the States acquire	41,334,000

Total debt in five years \$77,760,000

The provisional government which followed the Machado one, couldn't satisfy the students and other radicals, although it satisfied the ambassador of the American bankers. It was with these elements, aided by the soldiers who supported the Machado regime, that the recent "revolutionary" government came into existence.

In reality, the new "revolutionary" government proved, during its four months existence, to be able only to create confusion among the workers. But it also failed. And again—the same army that enthroned it, aided in installing another regime, more mercenary and more satisfactory to the Chadbourne Sugar Plan interests of America.

In order to meet this \$77,760,000 debt, the Chadbourne Plan put forward, through its Cuban Government, the following schemes:

- (1) A tax of 11 cents for each sack of sugar to be milled in the course of five years.
- (2) A tax of 50 cents for each sack of sugar milled from 1935 to 1940.

A Letter from Austria

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pamphlet just written by Otto Bauer, (New York Times, March 8, 1934) wherein he admits, that:

"We were defeated and we all ask ourselves if we are to blame for the terrible catastrophe because of the mistakes in policy we certainly made. . . . It was on my advice that Chancellor Renner resigned the presidency of the chamber on March 4, 1933, so his vote would be available to defeat the government on the issue of making victims of the railwaymen who had engaged in a two-hour protest strike. The following day Hitler swept Germany with his electoral triumph and Dollfuss used Penner's resignation as an excuse to destroy Parliament. At that moment the dictatorship was already established. Eleven days later Dollfuss used forces to prevent Parliament from reassembling. This was the moment when we should have called a general strike. The workers expected it and were disappointed.

"At that time everything was in our favor. The railwaymen had not had their strike broken by eleven months of inaction, as was the case last month. The government had not consolidated its military power and strengthened the Heimwehr Fascists against us. But we shrank from the bloodshed of civil war.

"We were foolish enough to rely on the promise of Dollfuss to negotiate with us early in April to effect constitutional reforms. Our reluctance to see civil war drench the country in blood had no valuable result, for eleven months later this war broke out despite us at an unfavorable moment.

"We have always tried to steer a middle course between the extreme Left socialism of the Italian and Hungarian Socialists and the almost reactionary bourgeois socialism of Germany. But our form was also defeated."

(3) The value of the sugar retained during the first five years of the plan.

Such is in brief the Chadbourne Plan foisted upon the people of Cuba with the full consent of the American Government.

* * *

The long and ignominious Machado dictatorship lasted for so many years due to the indifference of the people, the aid of the Army, and the unity among the political sharks. Finally however, the workers began to assert themselves through a series of General strikes that finally ended Machado's reign of bloody terror.

The Aftermath

The letter depicting the background of the role of American capitalism in Cuba was written before the latest general strike gripped that country. In presenting excerpts from the New York Times, it is done to show the contrast between the revolutionary methods of an "uncivilized" people and the "civilized" ones. It is a most striking difference. The facts that follow speak for themselves, as to the moral lesson thereof.

* * *

"HAVANA, March 7.—President Mendieta signed a decree early today suspending Constitutional guarantees throughout Cuba for ninety days.

"Two other decrees went into effect today, providing heavy penalties for native labor agitators and speedy deportation of foreigners convicted of creating labor disturbances.

"The strike movement now affecting many industries throughout the island continued today, with no indications of an early settlement.

"Expecting speedy action in meeting Cuba's emergency requirements, United States and Cuban officials began today a study of methods by which the island republic might obtain from the United States food and other necessities of life.

"Secretary Joaquin Martinez Saenz of the Cuban Treasury opened negotiations with Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles at the State Department. In a preliminary statement of his government's case, the Secretary acquainted Mr. Welles with the urgency of the situation in Cuba and outlined his views on the organization and functions of the Import and Export Bank now being created by the administration here for Cuban trade."

* * *

"ALBANY, N. Y., March 9.—Captain Albert B. Moore, long distinguished in the development of the New York State Police system, was en route to Cuba today to assist in the reformation and remodeling of police methods there.

"He was 'lent' to the Cuban Government after telephone and telegraph communication between Major John A. Warner, head of the State police, and Cuban officials at Havana."

* * *

"HAVANA, March 10.—The Cuban Government today took its first step forcibly to break the power of the labor unions, now threatening a general strike, when 500 strike-breakers were put to work on the docks where operations have been paralyzed for several days by a walkout of stevedores.

"Most of the strike-breakers were recruited in the interior. They were reported to be members of the Nationalist party who responded to the call of the Mendieta government for support in its struggle with the labor unions.

"The dissolution of all labor unions defying the recently promulgated strike regulations is decreed in an order approved by the Cabinet and signed by President Carlos Mendieta this afternoon.

"A twenty-four hour protest strike was announced for tomorrow by the bakery, ice, milk and other delivery service unions. Smaller groups are expected to follow suit. The taxicab drivers will meet tonight to decide whether to join.

"President Mendieta tonight signed a decree prohibiting city and provincial State employees from organizing syndicates or unions and declaring illegal and dissolving such unions already in existence.

"Due to the dock workers' strike, 40,000 crates of tomatoes, with a market value of \$16,000, at the Ward Line pier, ready for shipment to New York, will be dumped tomorrow.

"The telephone walk-out was sudden, with no warning. It silenced 33,000 telephones in Havana and another 6,000 in the provincial area. The six radio stations and wires serving brokers also were closed down. The corporation is valued at \$28,000,000.

"Six bombs were exploded in various parts of the city of Santa last night and this morning, causing some property damage. There were no casualties.

* * *

"HAVANA, March 11.—Soldiers this morning arrested twenty telephone workers, marched them to the main plant and forced them at the point of the bayonet to go to work.

"We expect considerable malicious destruction," said one official of the telephone company, "but we will fight to the finish. Either the company will be badly beaten or the labor syndicate will be destroyed."

"The government's dissolution decree, which had been expected for several days, is said to have been necessitated by the persistent refusal of the strikers to submit their grievances to the Department of Labor in conformity with recent legislation.

"The Cabinet was in session all day and was expected to resume its deliberations this evening after a recess for supper. It is understood every means will be invoked to cope with the defiant attitude of labor without resorting to arms.

"The workers, on the other hand, fear a concerted attempt by the government to crush their organizations and are apprehensive of losing all they have gained in the past few months, including the eight-hour day and recognition of the right to organize and strike. It was predicted tonight in labor circles that the government's decree would precipitate one of the worst strikes in Cuban history.

"Labor bitterly criticizes the Mendieta government for its allegedly over-favorable attitude toward capital. No real efforts have been made, it is alleged, to get at the real roots of the labor difficulties and to exert pressure on the employers.

"Ninety per cent of Cuban labor, it is estimated, is organized. Though there is much unemployment, considerable difficulty is expected in recruiting skilled workers in the event of a wide-spread strike. Fear of violence is expected to deter many from acting as strike-breakers.

"Reports from the interior indicate that strikes in many industries are proceeding without disorders but with small prospect of early settlement. The organization of strike committees, it is reported, is making it difficult for the government to apprehend the real leaders who are defying labor regulations.

* * *

"HAVANA, March 13.—Reports said that it would take several weeks to restore normal telephone service even if the workers returned to their jobs, because the strikers allegedly removed essential equipment and short-circuited some lines when they walked out. Company officials estimate that \$100,000 damage was done during the strike due to sabotage.

"Faced with the fact that a general strike was virtually responsible for the downfall of the government of former President Gerardo Machado, the Mendieta forces called an emergency meeting of all parties involved in the dock workers' strike. It was understood that the dock workers agreed to work if the following demands were met:

"The workers would have the right to stage boycotts; money allegedly removed by previous governments from the retirement funds, including \$450,000 in cash allegedly taken by the Machado government, should be repaid with government bonds; there must be no reprisals against employees for strike conduct; employers must respect the pact dealing with labor conditions signed in 1933; the entire controversy between the strikes and employers must be definitely settled in ninety days.

"A hitch arose when the employers agreed to accept the terms only after the workers returned. The strikers insisted that the acceptance must come before they returned.

Facts and Comments

MERNANDO, Miss, March 16.—Three young Memphis negroes . . . Isaac Howard, 25 years old, Ernest McGehee, 23 and Johnny Jones, also 23 . . . were hanged in the jail for assaulting a 17-year-old girl.—Associate Press Dispatch.

This was not mob lynching, but "lawful" murder—for an act—that not a single white man has ever been meted out similar punishment, when assaulting negro girls.

The funniest event of Dillinger's escape is not only the fact that he "studied" crime in the punishment institution for committing crime, nor in his real clever get-away, but in the following wire broadcast by the "lady" sheriff, Mrs. Holley:

"Send all the police and guns you've got. Dillinger is loose."

The attempt to dispar Bernard Ades, attorney for Euel Lee, a Negro "legally" lynched in Maryland, goes to show that an honest man must not be allowed to practice such a profession.

"LONDON, March 6.—A storm of praise and blame descended upon the British Broadcasting Corporation today following a defiant protest against censorship by William Ferrie, young engineering worker who was to have delivered a radio speech last night.

Mr. Ferrie had been chosen to present the workingmen's viewpoint in a series of broadcasts on industrial England. He went before the microphone as scheduled, but to the dismay of the authorities he told his listeners: "What I wanted to tell you has been so cut up and censored by the broadcasting corporation, that it would be a travesty to give what is left. For this reason I have sent the talk I wanted to give to the press instead."

Several newspapers published the uncensored talk today. It was a bitter protest against hard-working conditions and low pay in British factories and against overcrowded housing which was said to be driving the workers to despair.—New York Times.

Thus, the radio stands now exposed just as much a censored tool of the present system as does the Daily Kept Press and the Motion Pictures.

SACRAMENTO, Feb. 26, 1934—Charges of kisses stolen behind filing cabinets were aired today . . . Admitting kissing the girls . . . Lyons (supervising copy editor of the State printing plant) said State Printer Hammond, as well as 14 or 15 others, had been known to snatch a "kiss now and then". He asserted further, that some members of the Legislature, during sessions, had at times visited the plant for a kiss or two and maybe a date . . . Hint of further sensations, including a rumor of "party girls," being maintained at the plant for the entertainment of state legislators and others, and charges of favoritism being shown in the matter of ratings given both women and men employees, was circulated.—San Francisco Chronicle, Feb. 27, 1934.

This is but one instance where a partial revelation came to light, showing us what "our legislatures" are so busily engaged in . . .

Barbara Hutton, heiress to \$20,000,000 from F. W. Woolworth, of the nickle and dime fame skinkers, bought herself another one of the famous members of the Mdivani—prince have been—incorporated. In an interview given to the press, Miss Hutton assured the reporters—that in spite of her luxurious appearance—she lives very modest, and even feels for the poor . . .

In line with all capitalist countries, the Bolshevik government is busy at work—in war preparations. "Red" army soldiers and officers in east Siberia have been given substantial gains. The proletariat, in whose name they pretend to rule, will be made to pay in full . . .

The open press propaganda by the traders in official murder has been let loose under the wings of the "New Deal" regime of American Fascism. Lieutenant General R. L. Bullard releases this sort of lying assumptions:

(Continued on Page Eight)

A YEAR OF THE NEW DEAL

THE SHATTERED FRANKENSTEIN

On the very brink of an utter collapse of the capitalist system in this country, Mr. Roosevelt took hold of the reins of the presidency. The announcement of his New Deal, publicized to the skies by the Daily Kept Press, succeeded in misleading the greater part of the masses into believing that a "saviour" had at last come upon the scene to redeem them from the money changers.

To the more critical and discerning minds it was quite clear that capitalism had simply conceived a new scheme to save itself from imminent destruction, and, if possible, to perpetuate its supremacy. The bought brain trust, speaking through the megaphone of Mr. Roosevelt, were simply the tools wherewith to carry out the scheme.

MAN! was one of the first publications in the English language to come forward and expose the newly conceived Double Deal of capitalism. A year ago, however, we had but an opinion as to what the New Deal was intended for. Today, we are in a position to place before the readers incontrovertible facts that fully vindicate the correctness of our position.

While Mr. Roosevelt still clings to his desperate effort to ballyhoo the people with the same sort of clap-trap of a year ago, aided by Mr. Johnson, Miss Perkins, and Mr. Moley, (who now admits that the New Deal is but a scheme to save capitalism,) some of its very supporters are beginning to evaluate the New Deal for what it really is, liberals and labor leaders are now coming forward and openly denouncing the New Deal as an absolute fraud.

Thus—today—we no longer need to warn the people or shout "treachery" at the New Deal. The people themselves are now openly asserting that they have been betrayed by this new hoax.

Granted that the figures of Mr. Johnson are correct, three million people have been re-employed, and earned three billion dollars. But what about more than ten million that were not re-employed? How did they live during the last year? How will they continue to exist? The exploiters of the country need worry very little according to the revealed figures presented in this issue. The interest sharks alone received more than all the three million re-employed. Nor can any one forget that the figures presented are not complete, and, most important of all, that the hoarders of this wealth stolen from the people, do not represent even ten per cent of the population!

If the New Deal has done anything at all, it has created an imaginary Frankenstein-Saviour. The people, every ready to believe and to cling to Hopes and the Promises of the glib-tongued politician and a lying press, have trusted in the new Frankenstein. To their bitter sorrow they are now learning that the Frankenstein-Saviour is but made of mere clay. And they are ready to discard and shatter to dust the new Frankenstein monster conceived and fostered by capitalism.

The wave of strikes that is now spreading from city to city throughout the entire country is a most welcome and healthy sign. It shows that the people have awakened to the point of realizing that the New Deal is but another Double Deal. Mr. Roosevelt and insincere labor leaders may even succeed in staving off this new rebellious spirit in the name of a hollow "patriotism" that pays very well indeed for the exploiters and rulers. But they will not succeed for very long. Nothing can or will stop the imminent doom that is in store for the New Deal or any kind of a new scheme conceived upon exploitation and trickery, deceit and injustice. It is upon the shattered illusions and ruins of all such schemes that the suffering people will ultimately awaken and arise to take the future fate and salvation of their life into their own hands. When this begins to happen, the heralding of the Dawn of a genuine New Deal—the opportunity for each and all alike to create and live as free men—will have become a reality.

Roosevelt's Claim for the New Deal

(From His Address of March 5, 1934)

It is sufficient for me to point out once more that the difficult and dangerous situation into which the United States had got itself was due to the general attitude "every man for himself; the devil take the hindmost."

Individuals were seeking quick riches at the expense of other individuals. Geographical sections were seeking economic preference for themselves to the disadvantage of other sections. Cities were recklessly offering inducements to manufacturing plants to move away from other cities. Within given industries unfair competition went on unheeded or resulted in vast consolidations whose securities were peddled to the public at dishonest prices. There was little consideration for the social point of view and no planning whatsoever to avoid the pitfalls of overproduction or of selling methods which foisted articles on a gullible public which the family

budget could not afford.

The real truth of the matter is that for a number of years in our country the machinery of democracy had failed to function. Through inertia on the part of leaders and on the part of the people themselves the operations of government had fallen into the hands of special groups, some of them vociferously led by people who undertook to obtain special advantages for special classes and others led by a handful of individuals who believed in their superhuman ability to retain in their own hands the entire business and financial control over the economic and social structure of the nation.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was drawn with the greatest good of the greatest number in mind. Its aim was to increase the buying power of wage earners and farmers so that industry, labor and the public might benefit through building up the market for farm and factory goods. Employer, wage earner and consumer groups are all represented on its boards with the government; all three groups with the government must have the interests of all the people as their main responsibility.

What we seek is balance in our economic system—balance between agriculture and industry and balance between the wage earner, the employer and the consumer. We seek also balance that our internal markets be kept rich and large, and that our trade with other nations be increased on both sides of the ledger.

We must remember that the bulk of the market for American industry is among the 90 per cent of our people who live on wages and salaries and only 10 per cent of that market is among people who live on profits alone. No one is opposed to sensible and reasonable profits, but the morality of the case is that a great segment of our people are in actual distress and that as between profits first and humanity afterwards and humanity first and profit afterwards we have no room for hesitation.

I am sure it will hearten you to know that the great majority of the complaints were directed not at the codes but at errors and omissions in what has been done under codes. The great bulk of complaint or criticism of the Recovery Act does not go to the act itself or to its basic principles, but rather to the details of mere method. In this we should feel encouraged and heartened that we are on the right track and can go forward.

Every examination I make and all the information I receive lead me to the inescapable conclusion that we must now consider immediate cooperation to secure increases, in wages and shortening of hours. I am confident that your deliberation will lead you also to this conclusion. Reduction in hours coupled with a decrease in weekly wages will do no good at all, for it amounts merely to a forced contribution to unemployment relief by the class least able to bear it.

In a word, we cannot tolerate abuses of economic power—abuses against labor, abuses against employers or abuses against the consuming public, whether they persist either with the aid of codes or despite their prohibitions.

The willingness of all elements to enter into the spirit of the New Deal becomes more and not less evident as it goes on. As an example, I have just received a telegram from Mr. Francis M. Law, the president of the American Bankers Association.

In it he said: "On this your first anniversary please allow me in behalf of the country's banks to express our full confidence and our sincere desire to cooperate in your courageous efforts to bring about recovery."

And if the banks come along, my friends, we will have the three great elements of American life working together, agriculture, industry and the banks. And then we can't be stopped!

One year ago we were suffering and shrinking under economic pressures so intolerable that collapse was at hand. We had arrived at the day to make our choice. We made that choice. The American people responded to the call for action with eager enlistment—enlistment in the struggle against ruthless self-seeking, reckless greed and economic anarchy. We undertook by lawful, constitutional processes to reorganize a disintegrating system of production and exchange."

Gen. Johnson stated: (Feb. 27, 1934). Last Fall after the President's Reemployment Agreement was in full effect we took a census with the cooperation of the Census Bureau, and had the results tabulated by them. This calculation on the most conservative basis showed a re-employment under codes and agreements at that time of 2,750,000, and an increased payroll of \$3,000,000,000 as a result of codes and agreements. My own belief is that the actual figure of re-employment was more than 3,000,000."

Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins explained that the seemingly preponderance of employer members on the National Labor Board was due to the fact that employee members were difficult to obtain for meetings and hence the reserve of them in order that they can be called without delay.

Problems and purposes of the Roosevelt administration were outlined recently by Professor Raymond Moley, former Assistant Secretary of State and editor of Today.

To a final query, Professor Moley replied that capitalism, controlled and regulated, had the power to serve the country at large. "I'm willing to give it another chance," he said, "and I think most of the people of the nation are, too."

The Claims Against the New Deal

Mrs. Gifford Pinchot contends:

"General Johnson told the American Federation of Labor convention in October that there was no need to strike, as the law would protect the men in their right to organize.

I wonder if General Johnson ever stays up nights and sees the faces of the people who are jobless and without resources who went ahead and organized as allowed by the law and who lost their jobs.

I wonder what the workers think when they see Weir openly defying the United States Government and getting away with it; when they see the case against him go to the Department of Justice and then back to the National Labor Board, and nothing issues but a silence so dramatic it almost has the power of shaking their faith in the United States Government.

Until men like Mr. Weir and Mr. Budd (head of the Budd Manufacturing Company of Philadelphia) are made to obey the law, I see no sense in taking the Blue Eagle away from a little beauty shop or a small restaurant. The failure of the NRA to deal promptly with Weir and Budd was taken as a signal by the lesser fry that they could chisel on the labor section of the act.

The workers still have faith in President Roosevelt. That faith is not shaken, but they feel that they have been betrayed by those whose talk it is to secure compliance with the law.

I came to your forum last week in good faith, believing you were sincere in asking for suggestions for improving the NRA.

I recommended a definite change of policy, saying that your present plan of allowing the steel trust, the automobile magnates and big business generally to flout the government was un-American, utterly wrong and must inevitably lead to failure for the NRA.

Your assistants, knowing the truth of what I said, stopped me several times to voice emphatic approval.

That there are still many sweat shops cannot be denied. That thousands and thousands of workers are still paid a fraction of the legal minimum cannot be denied. That great numbers of workers have been dismissed for union activities cannot be denied. That neither labor nor consumer is being adequately protected cannot be denied. That small businesses are in many cases being forced to the wall while big business has been allowed to strengthen its grip on the country cannot be denied.

My criticism, however, is directed to your policy, as I have observed it in operation, of allowing big business to go its way unchecked and of failing to protect the rights of the little business man, the consumers and the workers.

The fact that labor is represented, as I am told, on less than ten out of the three or four hundred code authorities that have already been signed and that consumer representation is also absent from the majority of them, would seem enough to condemn your present set-up—for, as you know, the code authorities are the bodies to whom violations of the rights of the workers are sent by your State compliance directors.

"To put the matter in a nutshell, can you name me more than one town in Pennsylvania, with more than a dozen factories, where the NRA is not being violated 50 per cent or worse? I would appreciate an answer and not a wise-crack."

* * * * *

Senator Robert A. Wagner:

"... industry has gained practically unchallenged control of the code authority mechanism." Cooperation among employes "has received one set back after another... Without full employee participation in the recovery program, wages are again lagging behind production and profits... If this disparity continues, we may expect another collapse."

Other Facts

Mrs. Elinor M. Herrick, vice chairman of the New York Regional Labor Board stated at the same "forum:" We have fallen away from the high purpose and aims of the Recovery Act, through the nibbling away by selfish interests, which have written weak provisions into codes allowing ample opportunity for evasion by self-governing industry and have written inhumanly low wage rates into these codes."

Miss Mary Dawson, representing the National Consumers League, told of violations of codes which, she said, "are seriously impairing success of the recovery movement."

"If the NRA permits women, who form 37 per cent of all employes in industry, to be 'cheap' labor and compete on this basis with men whose wages are higher," said Miss Elizabeth Christman of the National Women's Trade Union League, "the purpose of the NRA will be defeated."

The low wages paid to women even under the codes, were described by Miss Elizabeth Eastman of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A., who said that in many cases women's wages were still unbelievably low in relation to the cost of living.

The experience of a girl sewing machine operator on dresses, who was working under the code a thirty-five hour week but earning only \$2 a week, and of a saleswoman whose hours under the code had been reduced to forty-eight a week, but who earned only \$4 were mentioned by Miss Eastman. She believed that the mere fact that in so many of the codes there was a lower minimum wage for women than for men was a strong psychological factor in depressing the wages of all women.

John T. Davis, representing twenty-two Negro organizations of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, charged that the codes discriminated against Negroes, especially in the cotton textile, laundry, shipping and hotel and restaurant trades. He said that complaints of Negroes to the compliance machinery had been ignored, despite the statements of General Johnson that all responsible organizations would be heard.

MAN!

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What Labor Spokesmen Claim

John P. Frey of the Metal Departments of the American Federation of Labor claimed at the Washington NRA "forum" on Feb. 28 that no more than 2,000,000 persons had returned to work, and even if all industries were on a 30-hour week there would still be about ten million unemployed.

Other labor leaders charged employers with espionage, "chiseling" of wages, the stretching of hours under the codes, and other abuses.

Albert Neville of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers said at the same "forum" that in Brockton, Mass., members of his union were working as long as 96 hours a week for \$21.

Mathew Smith of the Mechanics Educational Society, Detroit, read from a letter of a "Down Patrol" detective agency that had on its board of directors a member of Congress, a judge and several other prominent citizens, "The NRA is scared of Ford and General Motors," he continued, "Labor has been fairly patient but now if the NRA does not function old-fashioned strikes will."

The Budd Manufacturing Company is one of the many large firms that flaunts the NRA under the wings of the Blue Eagle. Gen. Johnson after months of delays finally went to the great mogul of the firm, and after a secret confab for hours announced that "the Budd matter was most unfortunate, and I think Mr. Budd has acted in good faith . . ." But the labor spokesmen think quite different about the entire matter. Adolph Hirschberg, president of the Central Labor Union and a member of the compliance board, said: "Governments have been overthrown through stupidity such as shown in General Johnson's action. The gauntlet has been thrown between the industrial lords and labor, but at Washington they are as blind as bats. The general's action (in ordering a vote which the Budd Company flaunted openly to be boycotted) is a confession by the government of lack of power to combat capital. If this vote comes off as proposed, all the workers of the nation will know labor has been betrayed, and deceived, that they no longer can rely on the NRA." John M. Richie, organizer for the A. F. of L., said: "Budd was able to get a three-hour conference with Johnson; we couldn't get three minutes."

The most sketching exposure of the NRA scheme came on March 17 when spokesmen of 21 standard railway unions rejected the railroad magnate's demand to continue for another year the 10 per cent deduction. Not only did the labor spokesmen reject the brazen offer but demanded its restoration plus an additional 10 per cent. To substantiate this counter demand they issued a document so loaded with facts that no intelligent exploited human-being reading it can fail to become incensed and outraged to the point of realization as to the kind of a depraved robbery system we are forced to exist under. We quote the following from this document:

"While the whole nation moves resolutely forward, to renew industrial health, you offer us but one more stanza of the dirge to which we have listened for four years. It is not surprising in view of such an attitude by the railway managements, that so many people in the United States mistakenly believe the railway industry to be upon its death bed.

Net railway operating income for the last eight months of 1933 was \$419,000,000, against \$214,000,000 for the corresponding months of 1932, an increase of 74 per cent which "ought to be enough to convince railway managements that the industry is emerging from the depression."

Carloading figures also showed a rapidly rising railway traffic, the statement declared. The unions found an even more significant change in the net railway operating income of the carriers. For January, 1934, it was said, the net railway operating income was 127.7 per cent greater than for January, 1932, and only 8 per cent below 1931. The railway industry had, in fact, already regained a large part of the ground lost during the depression, the unions felt.

The reply then discussed the assertion of the Thiehoff committee that the roads had had deficits in 1932 and 1933. Technically, and from the standpoint of Interstate Commerce Commission accounting regulations, the term "deficit" had been correctly used, but in actuality the roads had given a large return to their owners in those years, it was said.

After declaring that the railway capital structure, "with its overload of bonded indebtedness, is such that more than half the actual capitalization is represented in bonds," the unions argued that the roads so reported their earnings that return to the owners was largely a "fixed charge," and "net income is calculated only after \$500,000,000 has been paid to the owners of the industry."

Therefore the word "deficit" was misleading, the statement continued. In 1932, when the carriers reported a "deficit" of \$139,000,000, "there was actually a profit from railway operations of \$326,000,000; in 1933, when the Class I roads reported a "deficit" of \$14,000,000, there was in fact a profit on operations of \$474,000,000."

The unions "were not moved to any great sympathy for the bondholder," because the latter was "above the storm" of the four-year depression. During the periods which "left scars that will never be effaced," the bondholders, it was asserted, received interest as follows: in 1929, \$511,000,000; in 1930, \$500,000,000; in 1931, \$518,000,000; in 1932, \$525,000,000, and in 1933, \$533,000,000.

While bondholders had organized "for the purpose of forcing all other groups to shoulder the entire cost of the depression," it was asserted by the unions that "railway employees of long service have been turned out to accept charity or to starve; hundreds of thousands have been on part time and have brought home the diminished earnings which meant drastic curtailment in their living standards and painful privation for their families, but the interest bill has been paid \$22,000,000 more in 1933 than in 1929."

Replying to the management's figures on living costs, the employees gave a number of instances of reduced earnings and living standards of various classes.

On the Southern Railway, it was said, track and roadway

section men received as little as 25 cents an hour and worked only three days a week in February. From this weekly wage of \$6 the management deducted 60 cents under the 10 per cent arrangement, leaving the men \$5.40 "for the week with which to care for their families and make their contribution to industrial recovery."

"On the Atlantic Coast Line section men are paid \$1.70 a day," the statement continued, "We understand that you desire to continue a 10 per cent deduction from this totally inadequate wage for a period to expire in April, 1935."

"On the New York Central, section men receive a basic wage of 43 cents an hour and are working as little as ten days a month, or an average of two and one-half days a week. This gives them \$8.60 per week, from which 10 per cent, or 86 cents, is deducted, leaving \$7.74 a week in a territory where the PWA minimum is \$15.

"The Florida East Coast pays a basic wage of 20 cents an hour to section men and is one of the roads represented by you in your request for a continuation of the 10 per cent deduction.

"The Illinois Central pays section men as little as 25 cents an hour, works them as little as two days a week, enabling them to make \$4 a week.

"For the year 1932 there were 140,000 railway employees whose earnings were approximately \$50 a month or less—which means about \$12 a week. This number embraces about 13 per cent of all railway employees.

"Approximately 266,000 railway employees, over 25 per cent of the total number, earned \$75 a month or less. There were over 434,000 employees, 42 per cent of the total, who earned less than \$100 a month. The railway employees who earned \$125 a month or less numbered 749,000 employees, and this group embraced about 72 per cent of all railway employees."

A Review of the New Deal

Benjamin C. Marsh of the People's Lobby issued an interesting resume of the "new" deal from which we quote in part:

"To keep people from starving after the inevitable failure of the stupid NRA, the President devised the scheme of putting people at manufactured work under CWA. May 1 was set as the magic date upon which industry would re-employ about 4,000,000 people. A full month before April Fool's Day that bluff has been called, and the Administration is now caused to fear a genuine May Day uprising instead of re-employment.

"Now comes another of the tricks from our Presidential trickster—folks are to be sent to suburbs and deserts, and light industry is to bloom like a century plant, to give them work for six months, and then by another promised waving of the Presidential wand, commercial employment will be in full bloom. The President must underestimate the credulity of the American people.

"In the meantime he is keeping every special privilege which loots the American people going full tilt. Unaffected by the nationwide protest at last week's hearings on NRA, against the futile hypocrisy of the whole scheme, he opens up his card case and pronounces he had drawn an ace of spades. The unemployed are to be put to work digging up the ground so far from congested centers of ex-industrial activity that they will not disturb the chant of office holders praising the dawn of prosperity."

How Employers and Stockholders Fared

Herewith is presented a partial list of reported earnings as it appeared from day to day in the New York Times from February 24 to March 22, 1934, inclusive:

Continental Oil Company	\$ 2,275,860
Borden Company	4,646,443
American Cyanamid Company	2,467,681
Edison Electric Company, of Boston	8,640,671
Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation	4,809,866
Brooklyn and Queens Transit Corporation	1,394,894
Eastern Gas and Fuel Association	4,261,295
Matson Navigation Company	1,537,659
General Foods Corporation	11,032,948
Montgomery Ward and Company	2,227,957
Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company	3,993,933
Virginia Electric and Power Company	14,656,186
El Paso Electric Company	2,545,359
Puget Sound Power and Light Company	12,621,803
Western Public Service	1,913,751
Gulf States	5,189,565
Baton Rouge Electric	1,301,324
Savannah Electric and Power	1,749,242
Louisiana Steam Generating	1,912,616
Rochester Gas and Electric Company	1,628,710
Southern California Edison Company, Ltd.	11,349,717
Western Auto Supply Company	1,095,780
American Smelting and Refining Company	6,010,394
Maytag Company	1,204,503
J. J. Newberry Company	1,568,127
Atlantic Refining Company	6,647,191
Ludlow Manufacturing Associates	1,207,148
United Verde Extension Mining Corporation	1,062,549
Butler Brothers	1,572,459
Schenley Distillers Corporation	4,005,171
J. C. Penney Company	14,235,638
Coco-Cola Company	10,838,993
American Cigar Company	2,666,628
Bristol-Myers Company	2,156,151
Gillette Safety Razor Company	3,659,022
Standard Brands Incorporated	15,048,795
Beech-Nut Packing Company	1,801,393
Crown Zellerbach Corporation	1,016,739
G. C. Murphy Company	1,335,294
The Eastman Kodak Company	11,119,044
Benguet Consolidated and Balatac Gold Mining	
Manila, P. I.	4,100,000

U. S. Industrial Alcohol Company	1,392,962
Borg-Warner Corporation	1,196,270
Hershey Chocolate Corporation	4,246,034
American Stores Company	4,197,708
B. F. Goodrich Company	2,272,514
Emerson's Bromo Seltzer, Inc.	1,316,111
Fox Film Corporation	1,410,793
First Bank Stock Corporation	3,821,000
Columbian Carbon Company	1,165,709
Union Tank Car Company	1,193,176
Time, Inc.	1,063,568
Remington Arms Corporation	1,576,979
Hollinger Consolidated Gold Mines	5,737,176
Ewa Plantation Company	1,223,956
Safeway Stores Inc.	4,289,635
Engineers Public Service Company	41,756,090
International Nickel Company of Canada Ltd.	9,662,583
Phillips Petroleum Company	1,500,695
Compania Swift Internacional	6,123,055
Lerner Stores Corporation	1,108,141
Standard Oil Company, of Kentucky	2,623,509
United Biscuit Company of America	1,014,802
Sterling Products, Inc.	8,161,976
Vick Chemical Inc.	2,339,296
Monsanto Chemical Corporation	2,221,207
Corn Products Refining Company	11,504,941
Electric and Willard Storage Battery Company	2,022,206

A tabulation of profits less than a million dollars reported during the same period shows that 59 firms made up to \$100,000; 33 up to \$200,000; 24 up to \$300,000; 15 up to \$400,000; 16 up to \$500,000; 7 up to \$600,000; 3 up to \$700,000; 4 up to \$800,000; 2 up to \$900,000; and 3 up to a million.

Net operating revenue of urban electric rail and bus lines throughout the country netted \$115,094,174 in 1933 and \$111,364,502 in 1932.

The New York Journal of Commerce reports that during the last eleven years coupon sharks (dividend collectors) "earned" the following sums for each year:

1923	\$2,621,964,000	1930	\$4,374,408,000
1925	3,017,028,000	1931	4,553,124,000
1927	3,471,396,000	1932	4,564,673,000
1929	4,109,952,000	1933	4,585,663,000

Spark Plugs

After three years we finally got around "that corner" which now leads us over the hills to the poor house.

Since Hitler passed his examination at the last German election as Chief Clown we may rest assured that no one will beat him in the near future.

Men over 40 years are not wanted any more in Detroit factories. To counterbalance this I suggest a law that all men and women over 40 can't have a political job in city, state or nation.

Commit suicide or be "ostracized." Give the undertaker a job and thus help along the blue eagle and prosperity.

"Capitalism is the robber and politics and religion of the old states and churches are the right and left hands by which it has been and is doing the robbing."

Bishop W. M. Brown.

The man who is cleaning our streets and alleys is worth more to society than all the preachers, politicians, bankers and railroad presidents combined.

"Too many screws loose in America," says Ch. F. Kettering. Has faith though "We're raising pigs for fertilizer to grow cotton to plow under."

Some of our "leading citizens" who as bank directors helped to wreck the two largest Detroit banks are again directors in other banks. Probably to keep in practice and to teach others how to do it successfully.

Robert R. Doane, economist: "It is of the first importance that we know how our people live, how much they have to spend, how much they do spend and how they spend it."

And I think it is of the first importance that such ancient talking machines, completely out of gear, should keep their mouths shut. If such economists don't know by this time how the people live, they will never learn it.

"The liberation of the worker does not begin by reading party programs; it must begin in his own head."

Traven.

Americana: A Maryland man claiming in court that he "did not have enough intelligence" to serve on a jury and the judge refusing to excuse him.

Between 1880 and 1931 the number of insanity cases in state hospitals increase from 64 to 236 in every 100,000 population.

Such statistics are not reliable; there are many hundreds more to every 100,000 population, only they have not been caught and put behind bars.

Howard S. Duncan, as assistant treasurer of the Northern Pacific Service Company, admitted having helped himself to \$132,000. Circuit Judge Wm. J. Murray sentenced Duncan to fourteen years in the penitentiary, and then suspended the sentence and paroled the defendant. No—there "ain't" such a thing as "class justice."

"More law, more crime; more rules, more violations."—Lewis E. Lawes in "20,000 Years in Sing Sing."

A: This is a great country; everybody can become a millionaire.

B: If he lives long enough.

A: And if he don't, you can't blame the country.

B: Certainly not, just blame the damn fool for dying too soon.

Carl Nold

CORRESPONDENCE

Money in an Anarchist Society?

I like the make-up of the paper. I am writing today because I wish to criticize the article "The End of the Money System." I think we cannot afford to let wrong ideas go unchallenged. My conception of the idealist is that he is the only and true practical man. Ideals arise in response to states of maladjustment. They are at first only vague concepts—wishes. The ideal that embraces a new social system needs much revamping to fit the facts. It must thoroughly explain the status quo, and it must be able to put forth a new system which will meet the changing conditions. M. Acharya's article shows, however, that he does not understand the function of money. Money is indispensable as medium of exchange, even in an anarchistic society, as long as that society shall use modern machinery. And there is no reason why it should not. Machinery does not need to be centralized; it can be decentralized just as well as society itself. Anarchism therefore does not need to do away with machinery, nor with a differentiated process of production, as long as it is integrated. And here the right use of money is indispensable.

Money has had two uses: as a good and as the circulating medium. Money arose out of the necessity of exchange, and as long as we have exchange, we shall need the use of money. During the onward march of history money has had different forms, but it always ended up in the form of silver and gold. And as long as these were used, money was still a good, and the value of money was subjected to the law of supply and demand. But whenever the exchange of a country or a civilization became very extended, other forms of money became necessary. These forms were paper money and credit in different forms.

From those times on, the value of money underwent a change: it lost its value, and served merely as a representative of value. In this form we have it today. To carry on modern exchange we do not need gold or silver but merely credit. The reason why we have the gold basis is that the dominant classes by hoarding all the gold there is, and by compelling the people to pay in gold which they do not have, control the exchange process.

In a competitive society each person needs security, because he has to defend himself against his fellowmen, and he who owns land, owns the means of subsistence. As civilization developed, the economic system changed from a rural system to an exchange system. Tribute which was under the rural system paid in produce, has now to be paid in money. The interest system was also expressed in terms of money. All interest payments have to be made from the sale of goods produced, and as long as the interest or profit in general is used up by the interest takers or the creditors, the process of exchange goes on.

In our day, however, this is not the case. Modern methods of production have vastly increased wealth, for it has enabled man to use natural resources which were not available before the advent of science. Physics and chemistry are mainly responsible for this extension of the creation of wealth.

Since profits could not be consumed any more, they became reinvested in new enterprises, and as long as this was the case, the exchange was not disturbed. But when the scientific process of production took on vast dimensions profits and interest could not be used up anymore by the creditors; it had to be stored.

Let us now remind ourselves that the form of money had changed to paper, that it was merely a representative, a claim to a certain amount of goods or services.

As interest and profits are paid by the sale of products, it is evident that when they were not all used up, a corresponding amount of goods had to remain on the market. This phenomenon or this situation led to the periodically returning crises, known as business cycles.

But even an anarchistic system based on co-operation cannot do away with money, unless it returns to the simplest forms of economic production, and barter.

A system of anarchism is well possible in which money or credit cannot be owned and accumulated privately, so why should we forego the use of money?

I cannot see why the export trade pays interest and profits. As far as I can see, I, as a farmer, pay my interest out of the sale of my apples and spuds. No export trade necessary.

To talk of insane currency is foolish. It is not the currency which is at fault, but the wrong use we make of it. The medium of exchange is absolutely indispensable; if it is not used rightly, the process of exchange stops. As is the case today. But it stops not because the currency is insane, but because men have made a wrong use of it.

Yours very truly,

F. Wertgen.

The weakest point in the argument of Comrade Wertgen lies in his failure to realize that the Anarchist's society implies the "simplest forms of economic production" and not the most centralized ones. The decentralization idea always put forward by the Anarchist is motivated for this ultimate aim. Therefore, the idea of retaining the monetary system in an Anarchist society, seems to me next to impossible. I am of course inclined to think that if an Anarchist society will wish to retain "modern machinery" of every sort, it will have to resort to the retention of a monetary system.—Editor.

Dr. Robinson and Mussolini

Dear Editor:

Because in reviewing Emil Ludwig's book about Mussolini I wrote a paragraph about the dictator, you claimed that I have become an admirer of Mussolini. Let us reproduce the paragraph. "Uncompromising dictator he remains, but at the same time you see a man of wide culture, familiar with the world's literature, earnestly striving not only to make Italy great, but to render the Italians materially comfortable."

If you were not the moron that you are, you would see that there is nothing in this statement, based by the way on Ludwig's book, which shows any admiration for the man. I distinctly stated that he remains an uncompromising dictator, and everyone knows how I detest dictators. But it is perfectly true that he is a man of wide culture, that he is familiar with the world's literature, and that he is striving to make a great power of Italy, and that he is striving to render the Italians materially comfortable. I challenge you to show that a single one of these statements is untrue.

So you see that in both your paragraphs in the May-June issue and in the October issue you have shown yourself for just what you are, namely, dishonest, stupid, irresponsible.

Dr. W. J. Robinson.

Dr. Robinson has used a language in his letter that is neither befitting a sincere person, nor is an aid to disprove criticism made against him. MAN! will not compete with him on this score.

Dr. Robinson speaks of having written a "paragraph about the dictator" and proceeds "Let us reproduce the paragraph." This sounds sincere enough. Only, Dr. Robinson has com-

mitted something that ought to be crowned with the very epithets he throws at MAN! For not only has he failed to quote the entire paragraph in question, but he wrote even more than just one paragraph. I shall therefore reprint in full the entire review he wrote and leave it to the readers to form their own opinion as to the justification of classing Dr. Robinson as an admirer of the world's most inhuman tyrant—Benito Mussolini. One word more, Dr. Robinson asserts that Mussolini is "striving" to "render the Italians materially comfortable". No greater untruth could be conceived! Unless by "Italians"—Dr. Robinson means the oppressors, rulers, and stranglers of the Italian people. It certainly is not applicable to the iron-ruled masses of Italy.—Editor.

Now to quote what Dr. Robinson did write:

"Talks with Mussolini. By Emil Ludwig.—Quite a different Mussolini from the picture I had in my mind emerges from the pages of Ludwig's book, translated by my good communist friends, Eden and Cedar Paul. Uncompromising dictator he remains, but at the same time, you see a man of wide culture, familiar with the world's literatures, earnestly striving not only to make Italy great, but to render the Italians materially comfortable. And to judge from various reports, he is succeeding. And capitalism has to behave and toe the mark just as much as labor. As he says, they, the capitalists, have no choice. And he is not starving to death the present generations in order that the future one should have—maybe—something to eat.

I am opposed to all dictatorships. In my 'What I Believe' I wrote: 'Damnation on all dictatorships—proletarian, militaristic and oligarchic.' And I say it again. But if we are to have a dictator, let us have at least a man of intelligence, of culture, of wide vision, a man who knows that the first necessities of life—bread and butter, shoes and a shelter over one's head—are necessities, that without them a people perishes not only physically but intellectually and morally as well. And it is Russia's great misfortune to have a coarse, ignorant, uncultured man like Stalin at its head. And the condition of the country will remain hopeless—will perhaps get worse yet though the limit of misery seems to have been reached—as long as Joseph Stalin remains at the head."

Rudolf Rocker and Marinus Van der Lubbe

In No. 2, Vol. II, of MAN!, Feb. 1934, Guy A. Aldred raises Van der Lubbe into the anarchist heaven and sends R. Rocker to hell and damnation as an "arm-chair anarchist, alleged biographer" etc., etc.

This calls for an answer. I overlook many mistakes, because I am not perfect myself. I also realize that the editor who can please everybody is not yet born, but when comrades are condemned because their acts or views differ with those of the editor, it is time to speak out.

We can not always be uncompromising. It is well to have principles and uphold them, but when we let principles crystallize to that degree where they turn into prejudice, we reach the point where we sow hatred, dissention and discontent among comrades.

A man has a right to be wrong. We all can not see from the same angle. To condemn an honest comrade as an "arm-chair anarchist and alleged biographer" is outright throwing mud. Besides that, the editor who publishes such baseless slander is just a guilty as the writer, Guy A. Aldred.

Carl Nold.

Comrade Nold suggests: that if "we let principles crystallize to that degree where they turn into prejudice, we reach the point where we sow hatred, dissention and discontent among comrades." How such a thing is possible, logically speaking, Comrade Nold fails to prove. To crystallize a principle doesn't imply to distort or to misrepresent—but to be consistently clear, without compromise or quarter to any one. MAN! is guilty, and proudly so on this score. If those who speak in our name act wrong, we are not in the least fearful to come out and state our dissenting opinion. If the act of such calls for condemnation, we don't stop at that either. I am inclined to think that it is comrade Nold who is prejudiced.

Certainly a man has a right to be wrong. But one can have the same right to point out the error. What really happened? Rudolf Rocker came out in an article which appeared in the Jewish "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" and in the Russian "Dielo Trouda," putting forth the same charges and insinuations against Marinus Van der Lubbe that the Socialists and Communists were making, although practically the entire Anarchist press of the world rallied to the latter's defense, out of recognition and respect toward his heroic revolutionary deeds. And in the December issue of MAN! Rocker was asked to come forward and prove his charges against Marinus Van der Lubbe. Not a word came from him. When Rocker reached California it was but natural that some comrades should question him as to his attitude in the Van der Lubbe affair. Instead of explaining himself, he flew into a rage at the idea of any one questioning his act, adding the accusation against the editor of MAN! that the translation from the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" was incorrect, and that the editor had years ago written a letter to Mollie Steimer wherein he questioned some of his acts during his first tour in America. The International Group, learning of Rocker's allegations, sent three comrades with an invitation to Rocker and to the Committee that brought him here, to choose any time or place in meeting the International Group to discuss the entire matter. I offered not only to bring the original issue of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme," but also a carbon copy of the letter I had written to Mollie Steimer. Rocker, maintaining his stand, that no act of his can be questioned, bluntly refused to accept the invitation.

It was following this act of Rocker that MAN! felt fully justified in printing Guy A. Aldred's article. In the face of Rocker's writing a biography on one of the staunchest revolutionary characters in our movement, John Most, his stand toward Van der Lubbe deserved Aldred's expression of "alleged biographer" and "arm-chair Anarchist." It is Rocker that has to defend his stand, not MAN!, or Aldred.—Editor.

From A "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" Co-Editor

Dear Editor:

In your last issue I read a note under the caption "Degrading and Shameful" in which you hold us, all co-editors of the F. A. S., and even the Jewish Anarchist movement in its entirety responsible for an article written by Sh. Yanovsky. Strange and more than strange! I'm only responsible for my own writings, my own utterances made orally or in a written and printed form, I am not to answer for anybody else.

As regards the case of Marinus Van der Lubbe, it seems to me that you are right. I use the word seems, because I cannot say anything definite, one ought to be on the spot, in Germany, to judge of it correctly and resolutely, or to be very well informed, which I am not. From what I read I formed my personal opinion that the man was a martyr-revolutionary. Such an impression made upon me the reading of the reports about the trial. But again it is only second-hand information, capitalist class press and news agencies. Still I think you are right in justifying and saving the reputation of a fellow revolutionary.

Abba Gordin

Although our note in the last issue seems to have been successful in having at least one co-editor of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" (Free Voice of Labor) come forward with a statement, it nevertheless must be noted that the statement lacks correctness or a definite stand.

It was an UNSIGNED EDITORIAL and NOT AN ARTICLE by Sh. Yanovsky. And since it is a known fact to all that Yanovsky is the chief editorial writer, it WAS, and STILL REMAINS, fully justifiable to hold every co-editor and the movement that issues the organ RESPONSIBLE for the said editorial in question. Furthermore, the editorial appeared in the issue of Dec. 22, 1933, and not a single voice of protest has been raised against it by the above co-editor. Neither has he found it necessary to send the above statement to the F. A. S.

The manner in which the above co-editor expresses himself halfway for Van der Lubbe is far from convincing or befitting a man occupying the position he does on an Anarchist organ. If he means what he contends, then he couldn't and doesn't express opinions about matters out of his personal reach of investigation, a contention which he certainly doesn't practice in all other issues that he writes upon.

To illustrate yet more bluntly the deplorable irresponsibility and lack of sincerity that prevails in the editorial department of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme," we are reprinting below a copy of an open letter addressed to it by a well known German exiled Comrade which has been completely SUPPRESSED by the F. A. S. As long as the co-editors and the Jewish Anarchist movement fail to disassociate themselves from such an individual as now functions as their chief editorial writer, they share the equal responsibility for his infamous acts of abuse, slander, misrepresentation and suppression as evinced against Van der Lubbe, Gzolgiz, and Wagner—all acts that can have no place in the organ of any Anarchist movement that wants to be considered as such by the Anarchist movement throughout the world.—Editor.

The Protest Letter that the F.A.S. Suppressed

Nimes, France

December 14, 1933.

To The FREIE ARBEITER STIMME of New York:

Dear Comrades:

L'ADUNATA of Dec. 3, 1933, brings a notice giving over the contents from your paper from Oct. 13, 1933. In this notice Comrade R. Rocker says: That Marinus Van der Lubbe is a provocateur of the Nazis and that he set fire to the Reichstag at the behest of the Nazis.

Also that Van der Lubbe had with himself a membership card of the Third International at the time of his arrest only in order to implicate the K. P. D. (Communist Party of Germany).

Dear Comrades: Here in Europe, among the revolutionists there is a different opinion. Here the convictions has already been formed long ago about the Van der Lubbe Deed, that it is a revolutionary deed. He has executed the Deed, in order to bring about the unloosening of the Revolution in Germany.

That this Revolution did not come about is not the fault of Van der Lubbe, but that of the K. P. D. and of Moscow. This is known to all discerning people of Germany, to defend this party is insane especially for an Anarchist. I only wish to point out here what one great leader of the K. P. D. had said to the Anarchists at a mass meeting: "When we'll gain the power, you will come first to the wall." And this leader is now with the Nazis. The K. P. D. was ready and if you in the United States do not know it as yet, then let it become known to you by this, that it has failed through its leaders. The worker in Germany does no longer wish to know of any parties, all reports of the Third International from Germany are deceitful, as far as it concerns itself with the power and influence of the K. P. D. A few months before Hitler gained power the K. P. D. had threatened every member with expulsion, who would participate in any direct action against Fascism. This order came from Moscow, as the K. P. D. had hoped to remain legal under Hitler.

You draw a great line in the Deed of Van der Lubbe and shout Provocateur.

Who is there yet today that says that Van der Lubbe had in his pocket at the time of his arrest a membership card of the Third International? If this were so it would certainly have been brought forward today at the trial in Leipzig, in order to thus establish a relationship between Van der Lubbe and the K. P. D.

Van der Lubbe has openly declared during the court proceedings that he has carried out the Deed by himself without the knowledge of the Nazis and without the knowledge of the K. P. D. and that he is ready to stand for his Deed. A provocateur does not speak thus, especially when he knows that he will lose his head for it.

It would be a crime to make from a revolutionary Deed a Provocation. I am firmly convinced that you also think so, and will therefore respond with consideration about the report in the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. It would gladden us, if you were to remain in contact with us, we could keep you informed of the actual events in Germany.

With Revolutionary Greetings,

(Signed) Wilhelm Wagner.

*—This letter was written before Van der Lubbe was sentenced to death.—Editor.

ART and LITERATURE

Death and Renascence: "The Decline of the West"

Jacob Hauser

Oswald Spengler's "Decline" is undoubtedly a historical classic. It may readily be compared with Gibbons' "Decline and Fall," in the impartial light of literary importance; but there is no doubt that for us, as participants in history, Spengler's book is of surpassing pertinence. Its value, as an interpretive review of history, was perceived with its publication, at the close of the World War, for it has sold 90,000 copies. In popularity, at least, Spengler's testament is almost equal to the archaeological Testaments turned out by the American Bible Society; and has much more relevance for the future.

The author presents himself not as a chronicler of facts and details, but as a symbolist, an interpreter, to some extent a prophet. Whatever we think of his prophecy (and we cannot think much of it, for it presages the inevitability of Fascism) his symbolism has the high virtue of interest. It is a poetic, not a pedantic construction, and follows from the historian's intuitive, non-logical mind. Economics and politics, the dryer skeleton of history, is not seen in isolation, but in conjunction with art and religion, with the enveloping flesh. Spengler admonishes a totality for future historians, a comprehensiveness of outlook that includes spiritual expression with external political phenomena. Indeed, he points the priority of the expression, the spirit of history; and sees the sculpture of the Greeks as a parallel exertion of the impulse which produced the city-state, the laws of Solon. Mathematics and music do not exist in a void, non-communicative with the pragmatic sequence of human affairs. The numeration and the geometry of the ancient world represent for Spengler such psychological qualities as were otherwise extended into Phidean sculpture, worship of the gods, cultivation of the senses and epicurean zest for life. Musical counterpoint is but another modern complexity, and is as expressive of our times as our finance, export and import, our contemporary worship of Time.

All this is worthy of attention: and in so far as Spengler contributes to the development of a history which is an inter-related study of all human affairs, physical and psychic, he is a pioneer who solicits our praise. As he declares, no human creation exists impersonally, nor exists apart from personal bias and background. In his own case, there is undoubtedly the Germanic, the Gothic component, to which we must attribute both the valuable suggestions of his work and the worthless conclusion.

Spengler's history is Gothic history. Had a Frenchman conceived such a metaphysical, transcendental world-history (which is improbable) he would have executed it otherwise. In its multiplicity of detail, its crowded foliage and prolific variation, above all in its tumultuous zest for the visible-invisible world-spectacle, we are reminded of a Gothic cathedral. It is rich and confusing. Out of the crowded scene spring several symbolic proponents, like the colossal heroes of Blake's "Prophetic Books." The chief characters of this pantheistic medley are the three symbolic forms into which all Spengler's history is condensed: The Magian Soul; The Apollinian Soul; The Faustian Soul.

The Magian is, of course, the magical, and refers to those cultures which lived intimately with their prepossessions of a world-beyond, of the supernatural world. It refers to the priestcraft and hierarchy of ancient Egypt and India, to the Judean and Christian impulses of history. The magical soul, fed upon confectionery fairy-tales, is still largely operative even today, though it ceases to have dynamic importance.

The Apollinian refers to the corporeal, to bodily unity and integrity, of which Apollo is the patron deity. It shows itself in such formula as: Man is the measure of everything, and, Nothing that is human is alien to man. It is the very genius of visible, health-giving beauty, as opposed to the sickly magian cultivation of other-worlds, and the Faustian nostalgia for the infinite. The Apollinian soul reached its practical, external apogee in Periclean Athens, and still subsists as an ideal for the future. For, Spengler himself advances

the cyclical or recurrent tendency of history, which never reaches any final conclusion, but repeats the past in the present, with differences. For, however Hellenic may be the anarchistic communes of the future, all the experience of hu-



From a Drawing by D. Chun.

Portrait of America

Men—men—men—men
There are men on every turn
There are men on every side
Men—men—men—men
They shuffle, they drag their feet, they bend their heads,
They hunch their shoulders against the biting wind
Men—men—men—men
There are men in bunches in front of employment agencies
where the white cards hang fever and fewer on old bulletin
boards and in the agencies there are
Men—men—men—men
Sitting on benches, on chairs against the wall,
on chairs behind the desks
—waiting, just waiting—
—staring at the cracks in the floor—
—staring at the pictures on the walls—
—staring at the last year's calendar still showing the
month of May—
what's time to these
Men—men—men—men
They fill the benches in the parks so that hired-girls
with babes in prams rush by with fear under their
white-starched bosom-fronts
but their trim calves encased in silk have no charm for these
Men—men—men—men
In countryside there are
Men—men—men—men
In countryside the houses have front-porches
and on the front porches there are rockers and swings
and in the rockers and in the swings there are
Men—men—men—men
—sitting, just sitting—
—rocking, just rocking—
—swinging, just swinging—
In railroad box-cars there are
Men—men—men—men
—going, just going—
—riding, just riding—
In flop-houses and charity-wards there are
Men—men—men—men
—lying, just lying—
—dying, just dying—

Flora Elhovna

Kingfisher

(Quintet)

Kingfisher,
Diving for minnows—
Keen of eye and wing and beak . . .
We Christians have our victims and shrill
Kingfishers.

The Beast

A beast there is that fishes night and day,—
Devours its fill and lets the rest decay,—
Simon Legree's a skeleton brood in shame . . .
Capitalism is its Christian name!

LLOYD FRANK MERELL.

Hands

Workingmen have dirty hands,
Calloused, grimy, battered hands,
Bruised and seared and ugly hands,
Scarred with the marks of labor.
Hands that build and push and heave,
Hands that plant and reap and weave,
Hands too numbed to ask retribute,
Such are the hands of labor.
Ruling men have gentle hands,
Pampered, cleanly, useless hands,
Manicured and scented hands,
Unmarred by the grime of labor.
Hands that never dug a ditch,
Hands that never sewed a stitch,
Idle hands of idle rich,
Scorning useful labor.
... Revolutions are not made
By scented hands with roset pomade.
Ugly hands learn to resist,
Ugly hands make husky fists,
En avant, ye fists of labor!

SOPHIA FAGIN.

We Exchange With

Author and Composer. 5404 Sierra Vista Ave., Hollywood, California.

Bulteno. Prah VII, "Domovina," Czechoslovakia.
California Health News. 4489 Avocado St., Hollywood, Cal.
Chanticleer. P. O. Box 91, Sta. D, New York City.
Characters. 367 Seabright Ave., Santa Cruz, California.
Clarion. 45 W. 17th St., New York City.
Cosmos. 706 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Driftwind. North Montpelier, Vermont.
Dune Forum. The Dunnes, Oceana, California.
Fight. 104 Fifth Ave., New York City.
The Frontier and Midland. Missoula, Montana.
The Latin Quarterly. 11 Barrow St., New York City.
Luminita. Gimnazial C. F. R. Pascani, Roumania.
The Magazine. 522 California Bank Building, Beverly Hills, California.

Masses. 23, rue Mouffetard, Paris V2, France.
Nia Bulteno. 117 N. Bunker Hill Ave., Los Angeles, California.

The New Humanist. 105 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
The New Spur. 145 Queen St., Glasgow, C.I., Scotland.
Pins. R. F. D. 1, Gainesville, Florida.
Plain Talk. 108 E. Sixth St., Topeka, Kansas.
The Scrap Book. Box 114, Anaheim, California.
Semnacistia Bulteno. Vajpernicka 97, Plazen 9, Czechoslovakia.
Sennacica Revuo and Senaciulo. 23, rue Boyer, Paris 20e, France.

The Technocrat. Pismo Beach, San Luis Obispo County, California.

The War Resister. 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

man tumult, of wars, enslavement and devastation preceding the bright consummation must modify that consummation itself. Our civilization of the future may be like the Greek in beauty and harmony and devotion to the immediate, but must be unlike in greater maturity, perspective, sense of escape from centuries of enslavement.

The Faustian Soul is that which now prevails, that which was behind a metaphysics of the absolute, a romanticism of the occult; and which has been extended into our time-worship, money-worship, our seeking to amass new wealth, without an actual goal. For Faust, the exponent of Goethe's masterpiece, is synonymous with the restless, nervous, neurotic modern man, dealing with intangibles, whether pecuniary or divine, wandering without home or tradition. Even our mathematics, says Spengler, partakes of the nature of Faust, for it deals not with stable digits and abstract plane-surfaces, but with elusive functions, fluctuating quanta, and a space-time system which is at once here and there.

These three symbols represent for Spengler the summary of human change, and when we understand what they represent, we have a basic understanding of "The Decline of the West." By the "West" the author means Europe and America, for it is against his historical conscience to pretend that such history as we know best is all history. In other words, there are the lost annals of the Incas and the Aztecs; the inscriptions of the Babylonians; the interminable chronology of China. But it is clear enough that the West of Spengler is so prominent that it is practically the entire world. And in announcing a Western decline, he means the decline of civilization.

Spengler establishes a distinction between culture and civilization which is very important for our understanding of his work. Civilization is the petrifying in external form of the spirit which is renescent in each culture. Cultures are cyclical, and so are civilizations. The Grecian loveliness of spiritual impulse, which we may call culture, grew solid, immobile, unimaginative in the civilization of Rome. Instead of the soaring, lightsome Erechtheum, including the statues of the gods, of glorified man, we have the ponderous, practical aqueduct, the rational product of engineering. And, the argument follows, instead of the metaphysical investigations of the 17th and 18th centuries, the poetry of Goethe and the music of Beethoven, we have the soul-less, non-aesthetic development of big business, the erection of gigantic buildings and bridges; the stupefied masses of the "megalopolis," the big city. In other words, Faust has become a lord of finance.

And here is where Spengler introduces what he calls destiny, the inevitability of "Caesarism," or Fascism. The Faustian Culture has petrified, deteriorated, declined into a mechanistic civilization. There is no contemporary art of any account, no inspiration; no emotional "lift" over the mechanical urban commonplace. Instead of inspiration there are airplanes. People cease to matter individually; they are born to toil, like worker-ants, for the imperial Caesars of finance. Culture has stylified into Civilization, according to Spengler's terminology.

So much we know, and so much is true. And what can we do about it? Nothing. There is nothing we can do, says Spengler. It is our destiny to be exploited, to be reduced to stupid automatons; and we are fools to struggle against our fate. He says, "We cannot help it if we are born as men of the early winter of full Civilization instead of on the golden summit of a ripe Culture, in a Phidias or Mozart time. Everything depends upon our seeing our own position, our destiny . . ." And further, "For us, whom a Destiny has placed in this Culture and at this moment of this development—the moment when money is celebrating its last victories, and the Caesarism that is to succeed approaches with a quiet, firm step—our destinies, willed and obligatory at once, is set for us within narrow limits, and on other terms life is not worth the living."

To our non-Gothic convictions, it seems that, on the contrary, life on such terms is not worth the living. And what is this immutable, terrific Destiny which Spengler trembles at, which we cannot avoid? Ecce homo!—Hitler! Or, on our own side of the Atlantic, Morgan, Ford, or any other of the financiers and manufacturers. After the tremendous development and interpretation of world-history, to arrive at the climax in such a dictum: "Ducunt Fata volentem, nolentem trahunt": "The Fates lead the willing victim, but drag the unwilling"—this is indeed the depths of pathos!

It is well that Spengler has written such a work as "The Decline of the West." It is a splendid poetico-historical view. We must concede him the vision of an interpretive artist, but we must deride his prophecy and prescience. Cultures succeed one another, and after death comes renaissance; so says our historian. Why, then, cannot we look ahead, beyond Fascism, to the inevitable culture that is coming? If, according to Spengler, we are destined to Hitlerism, we are also destined to overthrow our respective tyrannies, to re-establish a culture that shall be more permanent than any. In all the gigantic historical review that Spengler has made, there is no culture that is not rooted in the misery and enslavement of masses of human beings. So was the Athens or Pericles, the Weimar of Goethe, the Bayreuth of Wagner. Freedom is ahead. As for the terrible Fata, the desiccated Fates, dragging us anywhere against our will, there is this final word: Fate is whatever we choose to make it!

Political Parties

Political parties
Are auctioneers who
Every four years sell to
The highest bidder the
Presidential chair as
An antique. WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

Why Does the Bolshevik Government Persecute Alfonso Petrini?

(Continued from Page One)

It is his only chance to save his life. His own request is of course being ignored by the Bolshevik rulers. But an international demand and protest may force the killers of Petrini to let him leave Russia! (See his letter that follows, addressed to a comrade of Detroit, Michigan).

In Russia the Anarchist movement has been and is as much outlawed as under Czarism. The workers are not allowed to protest against the misdeeds of the New Czarist regime. It becomes then the moral duty of every sincere revolutionist and liberty loving man throughout the world—outside of Russia—to raise the voice of protest to an extent that will force the new tyrants of Russia to liberate Alfonso Petrini!

Wherever there is a Russian representative, and wherever Bolsheviks gather, signs and leaflets should be broadcasted exposing their most inhuman mistreatment of Petrini. The Bolsheviks have brazenly pretended to protest the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, and are now engaged in committing the very identical assassination upon a spiritual brother of Sacco and Vanzetti! This charge should be thrown at the Bolsheviks wherever they make any pretense of being sincere in their fight for "justice and freedom".

An International protest and exposure of the perfidious act of the Bolshevik rulers can yet save Alfonso Petrini!

The Letter of Alfonso Petrini

Dear Comrade:

Through the International Anarchist Defense Committee I have received your letter and I wish to thank you for your thoughtfulness.

If you only knew the utter injustice that is being perpetrated against me. After having kept me in prison for four years and eight months, without even a trial, I was exiled here in Astrakan, where I am isolated from the rest of the world for nearly two years.

You ought to know that this obstinate persecution against me is due to the fact that I don't want to become a renegade, preferring to retain my convictions, and because my persecutors are afraid of the truth.

The Spanish Controversy

Comrade Onofre Dallas is circulating an elaborate and abusive indictment of comrade Marcus Graham for the way the Spanish controversy was treated in the December issue of MAN!

Exhibit number one of his indictment is a sequence of errors committed in the translation of the C. N. T. Statement. Comrade Dallas assumes that such errors were wantonly concocted by comrade Graham in criminal conspiracy with his accomplice in order to pervert truth.

As a matter of fact, the C. N. T. Statement was translated by me, without having seen and also without having knowledge of the Dallas translation. I do not pretend to be as good a translator as Dallas—in fact it is very hard for me to translate from the Spanish—but may I affirm there was no conspiracy, no desire but to translate as best I could.

Let us see the errors which comrades throughout the country are called upon to consider as criminal perversions of truth.

I translated "el Pleno de los Regionales" for the "regional Plenum." I should have translated "the Regionals' Plenum." Plenum meaning Plenary, that is the highest deliberating administrative assembly*, and being it stated in the following sentence that the matter in question was debated in the meeting of the organization, I fail to see that any such perfidious inference as Dallas attributes to Graham, may be derived from that error. At any rate I make amends. It was the Regionals' Plenum, not the regional Plenum. As much as to say it was the "Full Plenum," not a "Partial Plenum."

Next error: "Este companero ignoraba lo que era el movimiento y el trabajo respondia a esta impresion" I translated: "This comrade ignored what the movement was and his writing reflected this impression." My crime here consists in the fact that instead of "ignored"—a literal translation of "ignoraba"—Dallas pretends I should have translated "was not aware of." Well, I leave it to the judgment of the reader, if any criminal intent may be attached to this.

Again: I rendered "dara la consigna" into "will give orders." I should have translated: "will give the watchword." This sounds less authoritarian to Dallas. But call it what you will, "consigna" is a word taken from military parlance and is the most sacred of all orders.

Of course it is a poor expedient to reduce a question of principle and methods to a question of words. Besides, the Carbo letter in the "Press Service" No. 8 of the A. I. T.—which I, also, and not Graham, have translated—speaks by itself. It says: "It was a great mistake, because the initiative was taken from the hands of the C. N. T. and also the direction and efficient organization of the movement." Dallas has not seen this letter. It is too bad. But I suppose he can procure it and check the translation. He should do it, and for any substantial error I may have incurred, I am always ready to make amends and apologize.

Sick with tuberculosis, I have had two blood hemorrhage attacks in prison and one here in September 1933. Although the doctors who examined me have declared that my only chance of recovery is for me to go to a milder climate, my traducers continue to play deaf and refuse to let me leave this country, evidently hoping that the dreadful disease will complete its course.

But you ought not to allow this crime to be committed because, whilst hitting me directly it is, at the same time, an insult to every Anarchist. I ask of you all to engage in a resolute fight in order that I shall be permitted to leave Russia. I am certain that the American comrades will respond to such an appeal.

Some of the Italian comrades know me very well. I used to live in the city of Ancona where I was arrested in 1919 and 1920 for revolutionary activities, also in 1922 and 1923. In 1926, at the trial of Aquila I was sentenced to 22 years.

I am giving you these particulars, although they are known to some of you, because they might be of assistance in your campaign of protest against the Russian embassy in America, so that I might be free to go abroad. I am not a Russian citizen and this country has not even a pretext for keeping me here.

There is no difference between Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia when it comes to persecutions. Last October I met a comrade who also was an exile. With the simple pretext of this casual meeting on the night of November the 5th my room was arbitrarily searched and twelve letters from various comrades confiscated. I mention this fact so that you might understand what kind of freedom there is for Anarchists in Russia.

Recently the firm I have been working for, as a cutter, was liquidated and again I find myself an unemployed man, with dark days ahead for nobody knows when I will be able to work again, since this is the slack season for tailors.

Hoping to get more news from you, I remain.

Fraternally Yours

Alfonso Petrini

Facts and Comments

(Continued from Page Three)

Yellow journalism isn't always so easy to define. A perfect illustration in question is the printing of the war pictures by the Hearst press. It depicts war in its most hideous horrible manner—as war is. A sane mind—or rather an honest mind would conclude that this feature in the Hearst press is one of the most effective pieces of anti-war propaganda. But Mr. Hearst has long ago forgotten the meaning of the word honesty and decency. He utilizes the printing of the pictures, for to show why (?) "we" need more preparedness in the traffic which will undoubtedly result in more and more such horrifying spectacles as the very pictures he prints, depict.

Day by day reveals the "New (Double) Deal" in its true colors of a contemplated Fascist regime of the Mussolini style. In the January 6th issue of "Liberty," there appeared an article by Mr. Harry H. Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War. The fitting title of it was "The American Army Stands Ready," and admitted openly that the Civilian Conservation Corps is nothing but "... a dress rehearsal of the army's ability to intervene under constitutional authority, in combating the depression!"

Thus another benevolent achievement of the white house Gabriel stands exposed in its utter fascist and militaristic ugliness.

"Ambassador Tryanovsky, new Soviet envoy, snaps his fingers at diplomatic precedent. The Washington memorial services for the assassinated Premier of Roumania were attended by all diplomats having diplomatic relations with Roumania. This did not include Russia, whose army stands with fixed bayonets along the border of Bessarabia. But despite this, and without invitation, Tryanovsky came to pay his respects to the dead Premier."—S. F. Chronicle, Feb. 27, 1934.

The scores of killed revolutionists, and principally Communists, as well as the hundreds imprisoned under the reign of the Premier of Roumania, all these victims ought to find some consolation in the act of the "proletarian" government's representative in America ... Bert Hillside

A Pamphlet by Philip Grosser

"Uncle Sam's Devil's Island" by Philip Grosser, with prefaces by Alice Stone Blackwell and Alexander Berkman, is a pamphlet of the author's experiences as a conscientious objector in America during the World War, published by a group of friends. Groups and organizations please communicate with H. Block, P. O. Box 93, Hanover Street Station, Boston, Mass. Price 15c. Publications interested please copy.

To the Various Groups

The Free Society Group of Chicago has available several thousand copies of the pamphlets WHAT IS ANARCHISM, by Hippolyte Havel, and ANARCHISM AND AMERICAN TRADITIONS, by Voltairine de Cleyre, and as we still owe money to the printer, we would like to dispose of them at less than cost. We will sell them to the groups, in lots of not less than 100 (could include copies of both in a single lot), at the rate of 2 cents apiece, plus postage. The books are excellently printed, with the pictures of the respective authors on the cover. They sell regularly for 5 cents and 10 cents each. Send your order with money order or check to cover to B. Yelensky, 3332 Potomac Avenue, Chicago, Ill., including enough to cover postage. Or better still, write first stating how many you want and we'll tell you just how much to send.

The Free Society Group of Chicago.

COMRADES WISHING TO AID MAN! MATERIALLY SHOULD AVOID SENDING MONEY ORDERS, AND FORWARD CHECKS ONLY INSTEAD. ANY BANK WILL ISSUE A CHECK FOR A SMALL MINIMUM FEE.

Financial Statement

(Feb 15th to March 15th, 1934)

INCOME

Allegretti, S. \$2.00; Alvarez, P. \$1.25; Antolini, A. \$2.00; Baskette, E. \$1.00; Bataglia, L. \$1.00; Bataglia, L. \$1.00; Buccio, J. \$1.00; Capitani, J. \$1.00; Capra, O. \$2.00; Chicago Affair of Feb. 24, 1934 (share) \$10.00; Clearone, G. \$1.00; Cohen, Sam, paper sale \$1.60; Conterno, F. \$1.00; D'Ispe, \$2.00; Elia, F. \$1.00; Fox, Jay, 25c; Graham, John \$1.00; Greco, C. 50c; Group S. Di Giovanni \$1.00; Guarnieri, G. \$1.00; Klinge, H. C. \$1.25; Lappena, D. \$1.00; Lara, B. 25c; Lardnoll, D. \$2.00; Liberty Club, share from Affair of Feb. 3, 1934, \$24.00; Lloyd, T. \$1.20; Lutak Li, Jos. 15c; McDonald, paper sale (Feb.) 45c; McDonald, paper sale (March) 60c; Mason, paper sale, 50c; Megan Group \$1.00; Nathan, J. 25c; Nathan, J.; 25c; Norantonio, H. \$5.00; Northon, J. \$1.00; Pais, H. \$1.70; Panas, N. \$1.00; Rainer, J. 50c; Rapold, F. \$3.00; Russian Group, L. A. (share) \$5.00; San Francisco Bazaar of Feb. 24th and 25th, 1934 \$104.99; Singleton, T. 25c; Swede, O. H. 80c; Waller, H. 20c; Williams, H. \$1.00. From Special Affair, \$217.25—Total, \$416.19.

EXPENDITURES

Issue No. 4	\$151.84
Club Room Rent	20.00
New York Times	7.61
Aid to two comrades	10.00
Tickets of Youngstown Group	3.00
Printing of tickets	3.00
and mailing of same for special affair	22.50
Deficit from Issue No. 3	\$214.95
	\$106.01
TOTAL	\$296.01
Total Cash on Hand	\$416.19
Total Expenditures	296.01
Balance on Hand	\$120.18

The winning ticket for the special affair was 857. The winner who claimed and received the gift was from Tacoma, Washington.

A Comrade's

At our club rooms

2787a Folsom Street, San Francisco

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1934

Impromptu Concert, Dance and Refreshments

Play, Concert and Dance

SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 5, 1934
EQUALITY HALL, 143 ALBION STREET, S. F.
To Aid in the Publication of

MAN!

The Jack London Guild will produce Tchekhov's "The Boor."
Russian Balalaika Orchestra Admission 25 Cents

*—Webster's Dictionary gives the following definition of the word Plenum: "A general or full assembly, esp. a joint assembly of all parts of a legislative or other body."

There is one other issue raised in the "indictment" against me, and which Comrade Melchior Seele has not dealt with, since he is not involved in this.

In the July issue there appeared a symposium on the Spanish situation. I quoted paragraphs from the writings of Federica Montseny, Dr. Max Nettlau, Federico Urales, and also from a letter of Onofre Dallas, and adding my editorial comment. Dallas can find no words strong enough to inveigh against me for this symposium. He contends, that in the first place, I had no right to quote from a private letter of his. Second, that Federica Montseny didn't mean what I quoted. All this is, if anything, mere childish argumentation. In a symposium it is required to give over opinions relative a given subject. Everyone's opinion stands on its own merits.

All the printed statements that have appeared in MAN! by the C. N. T., the defense by O. Dallas, the symposium, and the criticisms upon the Situation in Spain speak for themselves. The readers of MAN! can be trusted with sufficient intelligence to be enabled in forming their own opinions, without having any one trying to explain what this or that writer might have meant.—Editor.

The communication of Dallas that Comrade Seele and the editor refer to was also addressed to the International Group, since Dallas had broadcasted it throughout the country before our group even had a chance to act upon it, he has thereby forfeited any moral claim for having it published in MAN!

The Group is in full agreement with the reply given by Comrade Seele and the Editor. —International Group.

From special reform I expect nothing. The whole race is on the wrong track; that is the whole trouble.—Henrik Ibsen.